1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

village area was sparsely populated. At that time, what are now the large family groups in the village were only small family units living in much smaller houses than they now do. Villagers also recall that in the late 1920's, and especially in the 1930's, the local irrigation system was expanded so that water was brought to new lands. This permitted an increase in agricultural production, particularly in rice, so that the land could support a larger population. Older villagers also speak of the introduction of new health measures by the Japanese.

Apparently, then, Hsin Hsing village and Pu Yen Hsiang follow very closely the natural demographic trends, and in this respect closely typify Taiwan as a whole. (Those differences that do exist, e.g., the sex

TABLE 2

BIRTH, DEATH, NATURAL INCREASE FOR HSIN HSING VILLAGE, PU YEN HSIANG, 1956–1957

		Population			Births			Deaths			Natural population increase
		Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Births minus deaths
Hsin Hsing	1956	302	339	641	17	13	30	2	3	5	25
	1957	312	332	644	16	11	27	2	2	4	23
Pu Yen	1956	15,239	15,466	26,705	654	594	1,248	125	121	246	1,002
	1957	15,441	15,784	27,225	542	548	1,090	127	138	265	825

ratio for the area [discussed below], point up the peculiar problem of land scarcity in the Hsin Hsing area.) For the years 1956 and 1957, the *average* rates of natural increase for Hsin Hsing village and for all of Pu Yen Hsiang respectively were 37.4 per thousand persons or 3.74 percent, and 33.9 per thousand or 3.39 percent.[10] (The breakdown of this in births and deaths for these two years can be seen in Tables 2 and 3.) These rates are not too different from the figures available for all of Taiwan for the years 1955–1956. The averages for these years show a natural population increase of thirty-eight per thousand or 3.8 percent (United Nations, 1957:114–115, 192–193).[11] (See Table 4.)

The population data for Hsin Hsing village and Pu Yen Hsiang for the five years between 1953 and 1958 show that females outnumber males. In Hsin Hsing the average ratio of females to males was about 100:94.2 during those years. In Pu Yen Hsiang it was about 100:98.5. The figures indicating this can be seen in Tables 5 and 6.

In 1954 there were 105 males to every 100 females for all of Taiwan. This latter large excess of males over females includes those males

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

body against pressures from outside. It has, in addition, a much stronger basis for internal unity and cooperation. Thus, families which belong to such single-*tsu* villages gain a substantial amount of security from the situation.

While there are now few single-*tsu* villages, and apparently few fully active *tsu* organizations in the Hsin Hsing area, during late Ch'ing times and even into the early Japanese period there seem to have been many *tsu* groups with unity and power which were active. Most of the large *tsu* organizations were confined to individual villages, although some extended into several. At the earlier date, it appears that these organizations were either overseas sections of large mainland *tsu* or had at least been formed on the basis of their earlier ancestral affiliations in China (Barclay, 1954b:47). In the Hsin Hsing area these affiliations were probably reinforced by the relative ease and frequency of communication between the mainland and the nearby port of Lukang.

Hsin Hsing villagers still tell how these *tsu* organizations and single-*tsu* villages frequently took part in inter-*tsu* rivalry and fighting. Barclay (1954b:47) has noted how these groups (which he does not define, but refers to as "clans") engaged in "indiscriminate civil disorder" along the line of the cleavages and antagonisms brought over from the mainland. Older villagers say that during the late Ch'ing period there were few government officers in the rural area to control these *tsu* groups, and if an officer did appear, he could easily be bribed. With the advent of the Japanese, however, the situation rapidly changed. The Japanese police were not "polite" when a *tsu* organization "insulted or beat other villagers." If *tsu* members "did wrong," they were beaten by the Japanese who, unlike the Ch'ing dynasty officers, "could not be bribed." The *tsu* members feared the Japanese officers just as any ordinary villager did, and for this reason the *tsu* organizations were often reluctant to support members who got into trouble. As a result the *tsu* began to lose their unity and power: ten to twenty years after the Japanese had taken over the government of Taiwan, the activities of the *tsu* villages and organizations had significantly decreased in the Hsin Hsing area. As we have already seen in Chapter 2, the port of Lukang lost its importance as a channel of communication with the mainland soon after the Japanese arrived. As the movement of people between Taiwan and the mainland ceased, relations between the Taiwanese *tsu* and the paternal *tsu* on the mainland broke down. This was very likely another factor contributing to the weakening of Taiwanese *tsu* organizations after the Japanese occupation.

There are now few *tsu* organizations which are strong enough to be of major influence in the Hsin Hsing area as a whole, and only three of the approximately twenty-two villages are inhabited exclusively

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

chapter 2

THE VILLAGE

361 Passing out of the narrow lane into the open countryside is like pass-
13 ing through the gates of a walled city. The backs of the tall, window-
less brick houses form a solid barrier between the noise of the town
and the stillness of the country. The shouts of street hawkers and the
loud inquiries of customers are softened to a murmur. The senses are
now more impressed by what is seen than by what is heard. In the
distance the mountains limit the eyes' sweep. Even the thick anarchy
of ferns and trees and vines does not relieve their harsh, jagged lines.
But, on a hot day, as the humidity builds up, the mountains recede,
become vague and indistinct, the misty impressions of an old Chinese
scroll. An uneven line of shrubs and trees, darker in color, more
precise in outline, seems to be at the base of the mountains but
actually is several miles closer, hugging the damp banks of the Tamsui
River, sheltering the village of Peihotien. This area on which Tapu
turns its back is known as Hotien.

* 596 Although there are now many surnames represented in Hotien, the
601 district was originally settled by the Lim family. The Chinese record
• 173 the births, marriages, and deaths of their male progeny in genealogies,
613 thus providing a skeletal history of their lineage. To them, the impor-
175 tant part of the document is the long family tree which traces their
line of descent back through many centuries, but in most genealogies
there is also a short essay describing the family's place of origin, the
location of the clan temple that houses the memorial tablets of more
distant ancestors, and perhaps even some sketches of the temple itself.
124 It is from a document of this kind and from rambling conversations
173 with the elderly men and women of Peihotien that I obtained the
126
175

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

mythical-historical background of the Lim family with whom we lived.

As with nearly all of the ancestors of the Hokkien-speaking residents of Taiwan, the Lims' ancestors were born in the province of Fukien. Around 1770, two Lim brothers left their village in the Tungan district of Chuanchou and migrated to Taiwan, lured by the prospect of free virgin land. After looking around a bit, they settled along the Tamsui River and began to till the soil. Evidently they prospered, for their descendants were numerous. Every few years a member of the group went back to Chuanchou to pay their respects to the ancestors in the lineage temple in Fukien and to record in the family genealogy the recent deaths and births in Taiwan. The trip was not an easy one and after several generations the Taiwan branch of the family began to feel less closely allied to the family in their old home. At last a representative was sent to make a copy of the old genealogy in Chuanchou and bring it to Taiwan. From then on, only the names of the descendants of the two Lim brothers who migrated to Taiwan were entered in the genealogy. Until the middle of the nineteenth century, the Lims of Hotien were a strong and united group. Some of the family units were more successful than others, but even the landless families who worked as tenants under their more fortunate kinsmen shared in the profits from the portion of land owned jointly by all Lims. The proceeds from this corporate land were used to finance various activities, not the least of which was a huge feast at the annual meeting.

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, the lineage organization of the Lims began to disintegrate, splintering along the lines of the main family branches. Often the dissolution of large lineages such as the Lims follows disagreements over the management of the joint land holdings or suspicion of malfeasance in the disposition of their profits. Whatever the cause in the Lim family, the elders of the dissident branches once again copied the original genealogy and from that time forward entered only the names of the descendants of their own branch.

Just when and in what order these events took place in the district of Hotien is subject to question. The elderly, the men and women in their 70's, are the people who have both the time and the interest to speculate about the past. They share with all men the desire to tell the way it ought to have been rather than the way it was, to

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

simplify rather than to complicate. Often their interpretations are devised from half-remembered stories of their own aged parents and grandparents. According to the residents of Hotien, the district is comprised of four distinct areas. The most common explanation for these sections is that they reflect the settlement pattern of the five branches of the Lim lineage when it disintegrated, two of the branches living so close together that they formed a single section. This explanation has some validity. Although all are related, the Lims within each area are more closely related to each other than they are to the Lims in adjoining areas. The four sections are inhabited by clusters of kinsmen bound together by ties of common descent. In earlier years when the nearby hills still posed a threat of bandits, kinsmen collected together for mutual protection, but even now few families consider building at any great distance from their relatives. A family in need of additional living space usually adds to the old family home or builds a new structure next door. The bonds of kinship alone are enough to create a sense of community.

While the Lim clan was breaking apart, families of other surnames were moving into the areas, building homes on the edges of the Lim villages and buying land from Lim families who for one reason or another came upon bad times. The influx of other surnames occurred too late in the settlement of the Hotien area, however, for them to challenge the dominance of the Lims. An Ong family in Peihotien has lived there for nearly a hundred years, but they are nonetheless outsiders in a Lim village and still are referred to amusingly as "newcomers." A Chinese other than a Lim suffers from no discriminatory practices in Peihotien, but he always feels a certain uneasiness when he notes that about every third person his neighbor meets is a relative while he himself may not run across a single relation, regardless of how many trusted friends cross his path.

With each new colonial administration or reform movement on Taiwan the Hotien area has been divided and recombined into different administrative districts. It is not surprising that the residents of the area have come to ignore the official districts, accepting as inevitable that the office to which they went last year to pay their taxes will impatiently direct them elsewhere this year. Their religious organization and social affairs are conducted within the boundaries that have historical significance for some and permanence for all, the four areas that grew out of the division of the Lim descent group generations

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

chapter 4

[p.36]

LIM HAN-CI: THE FATHER

The desire to simplify the character of the dead, to be done with the variations of mood that complicate day to day interactions, to indulge in the luxury of absolutes, seems to be a universal human tendency. The father of the present head of the Lim family has been dead for less than a decade, but already the story-tellers of Peihotien have woven the many anecdotes about him into the uncertain fabric of legend. Lim Han-ci's dour personality, his tremendous strength, his harshness, the determination with which he worked—all have become part of the legend. Even when the saga is modified by reminiscences of those who knew him as father, grandfather, or trusted friend, there emerges a personality from which epics are born. He was a hard man. He spoke little and then only after putting considerable thought into his choice of words. His temper terrified his family and neighbors, and he used it more as a technique he summoned at will than a fault he could not control. His justice was as harsh as his voice. Although liberties may have been taken with Lim Han-ci's character since his death, the fact remains that he has had no small effect on his children and on his community.

If Lim Han-ci had any brothers, they died before marriage. A married brother would have left descendants in the village, and there were none. Whether or not Lim Han-ci had sisters is difficult to say. I was never introduced to a sister or a sister's child, but this does not mean they do not exist. Women marry out of their natal village and often their children lose all contact with their mother's relatives. All I could learn of Lim Han-ci's childhood is that his father earned a

178 805 the household pays any attention to its time. Punctuality according to a clock is important for miners, factory workers, and those who work in town. For other villagers, only the bus and the school operate according to time scheduled by a clock but even then, the school bell and bus passage through the village ten minutes before leaving for town make the clock unnecessary.

805 822 The traditional Chinese conception of the passage of time in general is that time movement is cyclical. That is, time proceeds as if it were traveling down a corkscrew. Whatever is happening has happened before in the past and will happen again in the future. I have employed the analogy of a corkscrew rather than a closed circle because of the recognition that although events are individually unique, the general patterns are repeated.

In addition to this contrast with the American view of time as if it were passing along a straight line into infinity, there is a comparative long-range approach in opposition to the American short-range approach. Illiterate villagers are aware of events which occurred hundreds of years ago or at least an idealized reconstruction of the events and the memory of the events remain important factors in decision processes in the village. For example, some 173 805 village family lines were said to have originated in Honan, emigrated to Fukien 500 years ago, and then to Taiwan 130 years ago. Other village family lines with the same surname

• 173 805 were said to have originated in Fukien and also emigrated to Taiwan 130 years ago. Villagers carefully distinguish between the two lines. A member of a Honan-originated line can list all other lines in the area which also supposedly originated in Honan and most claim that those who came from Honan are more like each other than outsiders although I believe it to be nearly impossible for an outsider to detect any differences.

The biggest subdivisions of time are labled according to dynasties. A sequence of calendar years starts over again at the beginning of each new dynasty. Since the last dynasty was overthrown in 1911 when the Republic was established, years have been numbered in sequence since 1911 as year 1 in a manner similar to this traditional pattern. Within dynasties, there were also occasional references to the reign of particular emperors as a means for dating events, i.e., in the 16th year of the reign of the Emperor K'ang Hsi. No comparable phenomena is observed for the most recent period although this lack may be related to the relatively short perspective or to the dominance of Chiang Kai-shek and Mao Tse-tung for such a long period in their respective spheres of influence.

The Sixty-Year Cycle (Chia Tzu)[2]

805 There is a system for naming years to be discussed below which generates sixty different terms and thus, a sixty year cycle. At the end of a sixty-year period, the